Make a list of people in your community or your occupation who might become political activists if they read HUMAN EVENTS. Give Christmas gifts of HUMAN EVENTS subscriptions. See page 903.

Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XIX, No. 47 November 24, 1962 Section 1 — News

GOP: *Who will it be in '64?* .....(891)

CUBA: *Missiles may still be there* .....(891)

HISS: *TV appearance scored* .....(892)

GOLDWATER: *Hits Adlai's Cuba-coddling* (893)

ELECTIONS: *GOP whistling Dixie* .....(893)

What of '64?: Preparations for the steeplechase to be decided two years hence among Republicans for the position of standard-bearer have already commenced, but Capitol Hill notes that partisans of three big figures stop short of strongly committing themselves to their favorites.

The "standard form" Rockefeller boosters show some diffidence, clearly because Rocky failed to rack up a majority as large as in his first gubernatorial victory four years ago. A deeper inhibition may be the realization that the South and Midwest don't want him, as HUMAN EVENTS indicated last week. Also, another election statistic last week prompted further dismay in Albany.

The Governor suffered his worst setback in Erie County (Buffalo), losing it by over 36,000 votes after carrying it by 69,000 in 1958. Buffalo is a heavily Roman Catholic area and local Democrats made an issue of his divorce. (That spectre, which suddenly appeared a year ago, now looms larger to haunt the Rocky braintrusters.)

Nor is the new denizen of the Governor's mansion in Lansing, Michigan, bestriding the GOP as the colossus his boosters pictured last January. Wolverines remain very happy George Romney overturned the long-time Democratic control of the State House, but they realize the "Compact King" must stick closely to his nettlesome fiscal reform course in Lansing.

Little recognized outside Michigan is the fact that Romney did not carry a Republican Lieutenant Governor to victory. Democrat T. John Lesinski won that post and Democrats also won all the other state offices. Any absenteeism on the part of Romney could have lethal effects on his reform program. This situation will discourage, if it does not completely eliminate (note his promise not to run for the Presidency), any chance of Romney's creating a national image.

As for Governor-elect William Scranton in Pennsylvania, well-wishers in the Keystone State refrain from preparing any band wagon despite his impressive victory. While happy over Scranton's success, they definitely want to see how he fares in Harrisburg before spreading any bunting in the 49 other states.

That leaves the Fourth Man: Senator Barry Goldwater. Despite a studied silence in editorial rooms around the country about the fact that he does make it a quartet, the Arizonan isn't keeping silent—certainly not about the posture of America. Like Taft in the post-World War II era, he's out—almost alone among Republican leaders—voicing criticisms of the Democratic regime (see "Adlai," page 893) which express the deep concern of millions of Americans, both Republicans and Democrats.

What of Goldwater in '64? The UPI on November 9 reported him as saying: "I'm not running. I'll not put my name in any primary." But Capitol Hill, recalling countless such denials in other cases over the years, noted particularly that Goldwater added, "If someone else wants to put my name in a primary, I can't stop him."

Cuba: The Cuban Student Directorate, a Cuban exile group operating out of Miami, has learned through its extraordinarily effective intelligence network that the Soviets have at least 86 missiles in Cuba. The Directorate also says that missiles allegedly removed by the Soviets are dummies, not the real thing. Live missiles, Directorate members say, are hidden in caves. The Directorate, it is recalled, proved far more accurate than the US government on the original Soviet military build-up.

Yet official Administration sources—the very same ones who were almost tragically wrong on the arming of Cuba in the recent past—say they are satisfied the Soviets have removed their missiles.

Carlos Todd, head of the reliable Cuban Information Service and a recognized expert on Cuban matters, told HUMAN EVENTS:

"I have no reason to doubt the information supplied by the Cuban Student Directorate, since this group has so far provided the most accurate information on Soviet activities in Cuba."

Southern Breakthrough: As the voting returns rolled in last week, the Republican National Committee continued to rejoice over GOP inroads south of the Mason-Dixon line. Victories in Dixie were so obviously impressive that liberal columnist Joseph Alsop remarked there would now be a big temptation for the GOP to conduct a Presidential campaign (and presumably compile a legislative record) which would appeal to the conservative south, rather than to the liberal blocs in the big cities in the north. Conservative columnist David

Copyright 1962 by HUMAN EVENTS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lawrence sounded a similar note. (For details see "More on Dixie," page 893.)

This "southern strategy" has long been the theme of GOP Senatorial Campaign Committee Chairman Barry Goldwater. Indicative of the growing Republican appeal was the striking increase in the vote the GOP received in Dixie during this off-year election as compared with 1958.

While the GOP received only 762,202 votes in the south four years ago, it gathered in 2,734,251 votes in the recent elections, a jump of over 350 per cent.

Noting that the GOP outpolled the Democrats in the north on November 6, columnist Lawrence commented that if the Republicans continue to surge forward in the south "the Democratic party might have a hard time winning a majority in Congress or the Presidency" in the future.

Khrushchev—Loss of Prestige: That the Red Czar suffered a decline in prestige in Western Europe by his agreement to remove his missiles from Cuba is recognized in such capitals as London, Paris, Bonn and Rome, although much of the opinion in those cities also doubts that Kennedy enjoyed a parallel gain; many Western Europeans think the American President will win a real victory rather than a token gain only when he succeeds in ousting Red influence from the Caribbean.

However, on this side of the Iron Curtain in Europe Khrushchev's drop in esteem derives more from revelations of his military weakness than from his diplomatic retreat. The USSR turned out to be far less prepared to wage war than had been previously thought, according to military observers in the West. In Paris, de Gaulle's officers reportedly expressed amazement at the small number of intermediate ballistic missiles Russia really had; they claimed that Moscow sent about half its whole stock of IRBM's to Cuba.

No less pleasant was the surprise of uncovering Russia's naval weakness. No Red nuclear submarines appeared ready for action. As for non-nuclear subs, the Russian naval staff is said to have dispatched a force from Kronstadt (in the Baltic) to the Mediterranean at the beginning of the Cuban crisis. (Turkey barred any Red sub reinforcements from leaving the Baltic Sea.) Western naval men were surprised to hear that these were of a snorkel type now obsolete in the West and en route to the Mediterranean they had to surface at night to be refueled.

In contrast, it was noted that the American 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean was "loaded for bear"—carriers with aircraft on the ready carrying H-bomb warheads, prepared to take off on five minutes notice; Polaris subs were also present and alerted. This picture, which was not lost on Western Europeans, greatly enhanced the prestige of the US.

There has been much speculation in Paris and Bonn over whether Khrushchev's retreat on the missiles affected his status in the Soviet set-up. It is believed that the Russian General Staff considered that Khrushchev carried his brinkmanship too far in Cuba; the Red generals do not want war. They may now deem K too "reckless" to guide the tiller of state. Hence Western capitals have started speculating about a change in the Kremlin, a bloodless revolution in which Khrushchev may have to retire. This speculation, it is emphasized, is based on the assumption that Washington does not allow the roly-poly dictator to regain his prestige in some other world theater by an American move of appeasement.

Nixon-Hiss: Washington, like most of the country, remains flabbergasted at the American Broadcasting Company television program which allowed convicted perjurer Alger Hiss to use a nationwide TV forum to impugn the character of former Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

Television viewers have sent ABC literally thousands of protests against Hiss' appearance. Politicians from both sides of the fence—including ex-President Eisenhower and Senator Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.)—have expressed amazement at Hiss' appearance on the program, allegedly a review of Nixon's political career. Senator Dodd said, "The ABC action becomes an affront to patriots as well as fairness and good taste."

Former California Democratic Representative Jerry Voorhis, who appeared on the telecast and criticized Nixon, also revealed he was dissatisfied that Hiss had been on the show.

What has caused considerable public resentment is not the mere presence of Hiss, but the fact that Hiss, an unrepentant perjurer, was asked his feelings about Nixon's personal character. While the program's narrator, ultra-liberal Howard K. Smith, mentioned Hiss had been in jail, he failed to mention that Hiss had been convicted of lying when he denied handing over secret government documents to Soviet agents. Hiss charged that Nixon used the Communist issue, his own case in particular, to propel himself into the public limelight.

But even more startling to some was the close agreement between Hiss and Smith on Nixon's character. Smith accused Nixon of smearing his political opponents with innuendo, of using a political tactic which "damages good men . . . damages our national life." Smith said Nixon had called leading Democrats "traitors" and had intended to convey to the public an impression of treasonous actions on their part—a charge demonstrably false. Nor did Smith allow any rebuttal to his own charges by those he interviewed since he delivered them at the close of the program. A still more curious aspect of the whole affair is the role of ABC Vice President James Hagerty, Ike's former press secretary. Hagerty upheld the program as an accurate appraisal of Nixon's career; Ike reportedly phoned Hagerty to express his "amazement." The Federal Communications Commission is now making inquiries into the program.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Adlai: Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) last week called upon President Kennedy to dismiss his "soft on communism" advisers, among them UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson. Thus the Arizona Senator adds his voice to the growing chorus demanding the firing of Stevenson, now considered a symbol of our defeatist policies toward Cuba. Columnist William S. White, a liberal in good standing, made this suggestion right after the President invoked the quarantine.

While the liberal press has been playing up Stevenson as the man who stood up to the Soviets at the United Nations, the facts indicate otherwise. Informants tell HUMAN EVENTS that it was none other than Adlai who pleaded with the President to accept Khrushchev's demands that the US make a flat, written guarantee never to invade Cuba in exchange for Soviet dismantling of missile bases in Cuba under international inspection.

Dan Kurzman, covering the UN for the pro-Stevenson Washington *Post*, reported November 10 that UN diplomats "have gone so far as to say that US Ambassador Adlai Stevenson privately has indicated to them the United States might consider approving re-entry of Cuba into the Organization of American States" provided on-site inspection of missile bases in Cuba is allowed.

The most extraordinary behavior of the UN Ambassador, however, has been his telegram November 2—at the height of the Cuban crisis—congratulating ultra-liberal James P. Warburg on receiving a peace prize from Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc., a brother of the left-wing Sane Nuclear Policy Committee. Warburg is a contributor to the notorious *Liberal Papers*, in which he advocates the military neutralization of Germany, recognition of Red China and Western abandonment of the Chinese offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

More on Dixie: The GOP not only increased its congressional representation in the south in the past elections but also made significant gains on the local level, thus laying the groundwork for a strong GOP showing in the south in 1964. Some examples:

- Alabama: Republicans elected two state representatives and won a seat on the board of education in Union Springs.

- Florida: Based on incomplete returns, Republicans picked up 31 new state and local offices. H. B. Foster, running for Railroad and Public Utilities Commissioner, received 44 per cent of the vote, the strongest statewide race by a Republican in modern history.

- Georgia: The GOP elected two state senators, four state representatives. Republicans haven't been represented in the Georgia Senate since Reconstruction.

- North Carolina: Republicans gained seven seats in the state legislature, bringing their total representation to 24. GOP candidates swept Guilford, Stanley and Randolph counties, elected the sheriff of Buncombe County (Asheville).

- Tennessee: The Republicans increased their delegation in the state legislature to 26.

- Texas: The GOP gained five seats in the state legislature. The party also elected several judges, five county commissioners and a county superintendent of schools in El Paso.

California: Political pros are now guessing that GOP conservatives will take over the party machinery in the Golden State.

The talk among California Republicans is that former Senator William F. Knowland, now editor of the Oakland *Tribune*, will take control of the GOP organization in the northern part of the state. That Knowland would definitely have a "sturdy voice" in the party was predicted by State GOP Chairman Caspar W. Weinberger, who was Nixon's personal choice for his present position.

Retiring Assembly minority leader Joseph Shell, who ran a good race against Nixon in the primary, is expected to exert considerable influence over the GOP set-up in the state's southern half and possibly gain a voice in the north as well. Shell, it is noted, has never dismantled the statewide organization which supported him in his campaign. Judd Leetham, chairman of the Republican Central Committee in Los Angeles County (which comprises nearly half the population of the entire state), is also considered a Shell man.

Despite the victory of "modern" Republican Senator Thomas Kuchel, most Republicans do not feel that Kuchel could or would take over the party machinery. Kuchel is not well liked by many party regulars who feel he is too liberal to be a loyal Republican.

Politicians also point out that conservatives ran extremely well, despite some losses due to the incredible gerrymandering by the Democrats. Max Rafferty, a staunch conservative, swept to the statewide office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, swamping his liberal Democratic opponent by over 210,000 votes. GOP Representatives Arthur Younger (San Mateo), Glenard Lipscomb (L. A. County) and Charles Gubser (Santa Clara)—all with 80 per cent ACA ratings or better—ran far ahead of Nixon. (For more on the elections, see Sections Two and Five.)

Nixon and the Press: The former Vice President, in his "farewell" remarks after his defeat by "Pat" Brown, certainly made "news" by arraigning newspaper reporters who misreported and misinterpreted him for many years. Newspaper circles have been rocked with controversy about this Nixon attack ever since. Actually this was simply a "re-run" of the considerable criticism of anti-Nixon reporting

THE REV. JAMES R. HODGES, Northside Baptist Church, Talladega, Alabama: "HUMAN EVENTS is one of the bulwarks against socialism in this country and I trust its message can be heralded to every segment of our society—before it is too late."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which followed his defeat in the 1960 Presidential election.

Willard Edwards, Chicago *Tribune* reporter who covered the Vice President's 1960 campaign, in a long and detailed piece, "Did Biased Reporters Cost Nixon the Election?" (HUMAN EVENTS, April 7, 1961, Section II), charged that "Ninety per cent of this press corps [covering the Nixon camp], which ranged between 50 and 100 at various periods in the campaign, were all-out supporters of Kennedy. . They were not only opposed to Nixon, they were outspoken in their hatred and contempt of him." What Edwards said in his HUMAN EVENTS article was greeted with amazement and alarm by many readers of HUMAN EVENTS at the time.

Similarly, Richard F. Pourade, Editor Emeritus of the San Diego *Union*, in a later HUMAN EVENTS piece (October 13, 1961), entitled "New, Disturbing Journalistic Era Opens," castigated press coverage of Nixon in 1960.

Quite a few in the publishing world and the working press agreed with Edwards and last week were prepared to give credence to Nixon's plaints on his California gubernatorial race. But why the press animus against Nixon?

The New York *Daily News* (November 12) editorially offered an answer: "The newspaper people whom Nixon was telling to go to hell fall or fell into two broad categories. Some of them once flirted with communism and may still be doing so, and therefore never could forgive Nixon for having exposed Alger Hiss. Some of them are or were fanatical Democrats, convinced that anything they could do to help defeat Nixon for President and for Governor of California was all to the good."

Footnote on Katanga: From the political left now comes the story—heard previously from the political right—that the United Nations' late Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjold, knowingly had the United Nations take aggressive action against the pro-Western Congolese province of Katanga in September, 1961.

Conor Cruise O'Brien, a former left-wing Irish diplomat who was once a top aide to Hammarskjold, maintains the following in a newly published book regarding Hammarskjold:

"He allowed the world to be given an official version [of the attack] which was so phrased as to conceal the reality of what had happened, making what had been an active intervention by the United Nations look like a defensive action."

O'Brien described the UN account of the first clash between Katanga and the UN as false on two crucial counts:

(1) The UN claimed when it launched "Operation Smash" that this was for the purpose of rounding up Tshombe's white mercenaries. Instead, says O'Brien, instructions came to him and his colleagues to conquer Katanga.

(2) The official UN report says UN troops were attacked on their way to a UN garage in Elisabethville where arson had allegedly been discovered. O'Brien insists, however, no case of arson had been reported to him and, indeed, that there was no UN garage.

Capitol Camera: Medicare boosters may receive a setback when millions of employes receive their first paychecks in calendar 1963. Social Security tax deductions will jump to 3 and 5/8 per cent of gross earnings on income up to $4,800 per annum. The 1962 rate was 3 and 1/8 per cent. Thus, workers on payrolls will take an automatic pay cut of one-half of one per cent for at least several months. Employers' contributions also increase and the self-employed tax goes up from 4.7 per cent to 5.4 per cent of the first $4,800. Says the reliable Whaley-Eaton news service: "This new tax boost will serve as a reminder that adding medical care benefits to old-age payments will require still another increase."

• *Reliable political experts now contend that the people's revulsion against skyrocketing state taxes and spending was a significant factor in the defeat of at least 11 incumbent governors or their designated political heirs. Republicans benefited from taxpayer discontent in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Oklahoma, Colorado, Wyoming and Rhode Island, say a number of experts. Democrats benefited in other states. Turning the ins out, it is said, was the only way voters could express resentment against increasing government dips into the pocketbook.*

• ADA Democrat James Loeb, who left Peru last July after favoring leftist candidate Haya de la Torre, has now resigned as Ambassador to Peru. The Peruvian junta, which took power after discovering ballot frauds by Torre's APRA party, has reportedly refused to accept his return.

• *The governors of five states—Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Montana and South Carolina—would not proclaim October 24 as United Nations Day, according to the United States Committee for the United Nations.*

Published weekly at 410 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C. TRIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS: 5 weeks $1. Yearly rate $12.50; 6 months $6.50; 3 months $3.50. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

Bound Volume indexed: First six months, 1962, $15. Second six months, 1961, $15. First six months, 1961, $15. 1960 and 1956 Bound Volumes, $20. Dateline Washington: The Best of HUMAN EVENTS, 1955 — 1960 $15.

HUMAN EVENTS cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

WHEN WRITING ABOUT YOUR SUBSCRIPTION—an address change, a renewal, a question, a complaint— SEND THE ADDRESS TAKEN FROM YOUR WEEKLY HUMAN EVENTS ENVELOPE—our girls and our machines will thank you, and you will be sure of getting the desired results. Allow THREE WEEKS for address changes. Use zone numbers.

Frank C. Hanighen, *Editor and Publisher* James L. Wick, *Executive Publisher*

Assistant Publishers: W. B. Hicks, Jr. Kenneth W. Ingwalson Henry Blair

Assistant Editors: John R. Moreau Allan H. Ryskind Svend Petersen Thomas S. Winter Ross Hermann Sherrill A. Backer

Managing Editor: Richard Wheeler *Southwest Editor:* Milton I. Wick

Contributing Editors: Frank Chodorov Edna Lonigan

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Section Two
November 24, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS

Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

NOW Prepare to . . .

MOBILIZE SUPPORT FOR THE WINNERS

Attend the

Fifth *Human Events* Political Action Conference

and

Homecoming for Conservatives

ADMIRAL BEN MOREELL, U.S.N. (Retired)
Keynote Speaker

Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA); first non-Annapolis officer to achieve four-star rank; organizer of the famed Sea Bees during World War II, Charter Subscriber of *Human Events*.

January 10, 11, 12—Statler-Hilton Hotel
Washington, D.C.

HEAR . . .

- HOW winners won
- WHAT the New Frontier is expected to do now
- WHY unite to win in '64
- HOW to mobilize support for conservative Senators, Congressmen and State Legislators
- WHAT legislation deserves passage or defeat
- HOW Conservatives are doing the job elsewhere

MEET . . .

- WINNERS who won against liberals
- CHARTER SUBSCRIBERS—and other Conservative supporters
- NATIONAL LEADERS in the House and Senate
- PRACTICAL EXPERTS in civic and political affairs
- YOUNG PEOPLE anxious to learn and help

Send your advance registration NOW!—Bring a friend!

ADVANCE REGISTRATION **Fifth HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference** **January 10, 11, 12, 1963**

Please make the following registrations and keep me posted as plans develop: *HUMAN EVENTS, 410 First Street, S.E., Washington 3, D.C.*

☐Check enclosed ☐Bill me after January 31, 1963 (all fees will be returned in full if you cannot attend, regardless of reason)

Friday preference

Name . . . . . Fish ☐
Address . . . . . Meat ☐
City . . . . . **Zone** . . . **State** . . . .

Circle Number of Conferences attended 1 2 3 4

Friday preference

Name . . . . . Fish ☐
Address . . . . . Meat ☐
City . . . . . **Zone** . . . **State** . . . .

Circle Number of Conferences attended 1 2 3 4

CONFERENCE FEE of $75 includes Continental breakfast, lunch and dinner Friday and Saturday, Jan. 11-12, Special Homecoming Get-Together, 4-6 PM, Thursday, Jan. 10. $45 fee for additional members of immediate family (wives, sons, daughters) and for students, teachers, clergymen, active members of YAF and ISI.

SPECIAL ROOM RATES-HEADQUARTERS: STATLER-HILTON HOTEL, Washington, D. C., $10 single and $14 twins are available. As soon as your advance registration is received, we will mail Hotel information, so you may make early arrangements and be assured of special Human Events Conference rates.

Copyright 1962 by HUMAN EVENTS, Inc.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

More Notable Conservative Victories

Brock Tops Tennessee New Frontiersman

The Administration suffered a sharp defeat on a straight liberal-vs.-conservative basis when Republican William E. Brock, III, of Chattanooga, was elected in Tennessee's 3rd District.

In the Democratic primary the New Frontier threw its weight behind liberal Wilkes T. Thrasher, Jr., 41, to be its standard-bearer instead of 72-year-old incumbent James B. Frazier, a comparative conservative who opposed many of the New Frontier's programs, including medicare. Thrasher won the primary and most Administration supporters claimed his victory was due to his liberal stance, especially his backing of medicare.

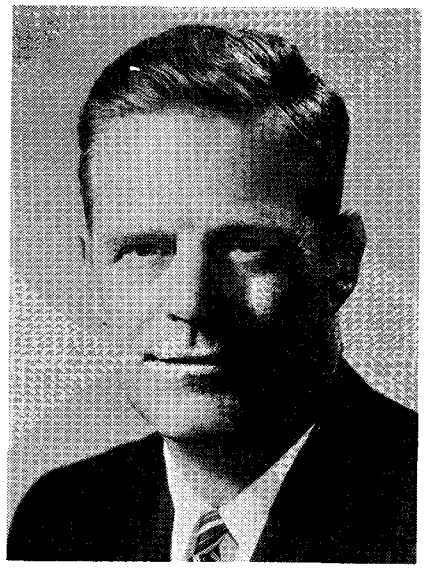
Despite the fact that President Kennedy singled out candidate Thrasher for special recognition by picking him to represent the White House as a special ambassador to the independence ceremonies in Trinidad, Thrasher was unable to convince the voters to accept his liberalism. The New York *Times* described the race this way (October 11): "Local observers do not think national issues as such will play much of a role in the campaign. They believe the outcome will hinge on whether the voters prefer a professed conservative or a professed liberal; whether they like or do not like the Kennedy brand of Democrat."

The November 6 test exposed the Kennedy label as a flop in the 3rd District and conservative Republican Brock is on his way to Washington—the first Republican to represent that district in 42 years.

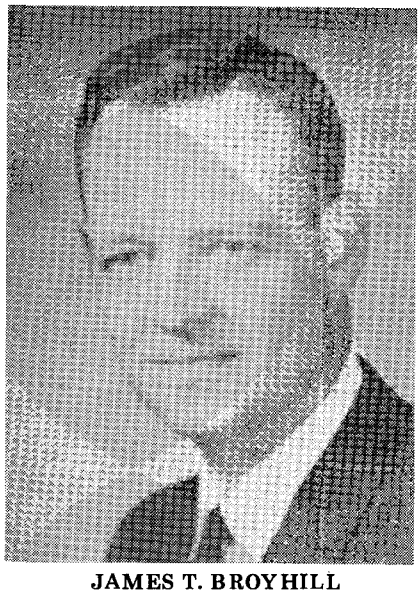
Texas GOP Counts Varied Successes

Besides re-electing conservative GOP Representative Bruce Alger (ACA rating: 100 per cent) in the 5th District (Dallas), Texas Republicans picked up one new seat, Ed Foreman's in the 16th (El Paso) District. (See last week's *Human Events*, Page 875.)

The Republicans also increased their delegation in the Texas State Legislature from two to eight and elected three judges to the County Commissioners Court, on which they previously had none. Preliminary returns indicate GOP candidates received 45 per cent of the total vote in traditionally one-party Texas.



EDWARD J. GURNEY
Florida GOP Winner



JAMES T. BROYHILL
North Carolina Winner

Two Close House Races in Virginia

In the 3rd District (Richmond), conservative Republican Louis H. Williams—in his first attempt at public office—came within 343 votes of unseating nine-term Representative J. Vaughan Gary, losing 28,946 to 28,603. Williams is still undecided about asking for a recount. In the 7th District, outspoken conservative J. Kenneth Robinson came close to adding the House seat of retiring Democrat Burr P. Harrison to the GOP column. Robinson lost by only 603 votes—26,307 to 25,704.

GOP Representative Richard Poff (ACA rating: 95 per cent) was easily re-elected in the 6th.

In a personal rebuff to JFK, Republican Joel T. Broyhill was elected to a sixth term in Virginia's 10th District (Northern Virginia).

Gurney Joins Cramer Of Florida in House

Republican Edward J. Gurney, 48-year-old mayor of Winter Park, soundly defeated former Democratic State Senator John A. Sutton in Florida's new 11th District, despite the efforts of the AFL-CIO. The district, which includes Cape Canaveral, numbers many retired persons among its voters. Medicare was one of the central issues in the campaign.

A graduate of Harvard Law School, Gurney ran as a staunch conservative strongly opposed to the Administration's King-Anderson Bill. Sutton, who attempted to get both liberal and conservative support, spoke against medicare during the primary. In the final election campaign, however, his anti-medicare stance became suspect when the contents of a supposedly secret report prepared by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (which had supported Sutton's opponent in the Democratic primary; see *Human Events,* October 20) were revealed. The report stated: "... we have reason to anticipate we may wind up with a friend in Sutton. A series of meetings has been held with him. His initial opposition to health care under social security is softening, and his general approach to problems which concern us shows signs of improvement."

Gurney's election gives the GOP TWO House seats in Florida. The other is held by William C. Cramer, 40, who was elected to his fifth term.

Broyhill Joins Jonas In North Carolina House Delegation

The Tar Heel State was a particularly bright spot for the GOP in the South. Republicans now hold two House seats, while before Carl Raper Jonas served alone and was in serious danger of losing it.

The "get-Jonas" gerrymander which took GOP territory from the 8th District not only failed in its primary objective but also boomeranged, helping to cause the defeat of incumbent Democratic Representative Hugh Alexander in the neighboring 9th to which this territory was added. Alexander was defeated by 35-year-old conservative Republican businessman James T. Broyhill, who derived great support from his opposition to the Administration's medicare program.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ohio Voters Return Bolton to House

Aided by the Republican sweep in Ohio was Oliver Bolton, a staunch conservative, who soundly defeated ultra-liberal incumbent Democrat Robert Cook (ACA rating: 11 per cent) in the 11th District.

Bolton waged a vigorous campaign against his COPE-endorsed, ADA-backed opponent, making Cook's spending policies his key issue. Son of Congresswoman Frances P. Bolton, representing the northern 22nd District, Bolton returns to Congress to serve his third term in the House. He retired from his seat in 1957 as a result of a heart attack.

Bolton's victory, due in large part to Ohio's good organization, indicated voters were fed up with Cook's record of spending. His boast that he had helped bring Federal programs to the district apparently did not impress voters.

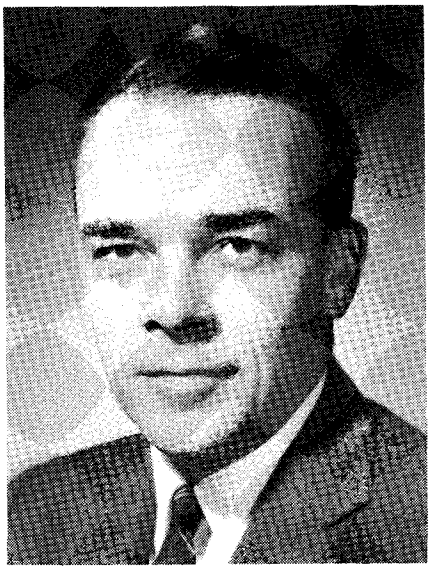
Fulton Lewis, Jr., conservative commentator, also helped swing the 11th into line for Bolton by exposing Big Labor's operations in the campaign. In the closing days of the contest, Lewis unearthed the news that Leo Fenster, United Auto Workers chairman of Local 45 in Cleveland, had entered the district to aid Cook. Fenster—Lewis reported on the radio and in his column—took the Fifth Amendment to 60 questions on his possible affiliation with Communist organizations before the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities.

Maryland's Eastern Shore Goes Republican

Overcoming a 2-1 Democratic registration edge in Maryland's 1st District (Eastern Shore), Rogers C. B. Morton—brother of former GOP National Chairman Thruston B. Morton, newly re-elected Kentucky Senator—displaced Democrat Thomas F. Johnson in Congress.

The race was considered "doubtful" by nonpartisan *Congressional Quarterly*. But Morton began an aggressive campaign last March, criss-crossing the district to meet thousands of voters. His campaign got a new lease on life in mid-October when a Federal grand jury indicted Johnson on charges of conspiracy and illegally accepting $24,918 to influence the Justice Department's handling of a savings and loan mail fraud case. This clouded Johnson's once-bright re-election chances.

Morton, who is 48, was endorsed in the closing days of the campaign by the Baltimore *Sun* and was one of few Maryland GOP'ers to receive the *Sun's* blessing. Edward T. Miller, whom Johnson defeated in 1960, ran unsuccessfully for the Maryland Senate seat vacated by the retiring John Marshall Butler.



OLIVER BOLTON
Overcomes Labor Opposition

K. WILLIAM STINSON
Washington State Winner

Stinson Over Magnuson In Washington Race

Young (32) K. William Stinson convincingly defeated five-term Representative Donald Magnuson (ACA rating: 6 per cent) for the House seat in the south Seattle district in Washington.

He ran on a shoestring budget with much of his funds coming from such unusual sources as piggy banks and loans on insurance policies.

Increasing the state's GOP congressional delegation to six out of seven, Stinson ran as a strong conservative against the labor union-dominated Magnuson. (COPE marked Magnuson "right" on 42 of 43 issues.)

Democratic Representative Don Magnuson should not be confused with the Senator of the same last name who was re-elected by a small margin. (See last week's *Human Events*, "No Time for the Faint Hearted," pages 879-881.)

In direct contrast to Magnuson, Stinson called for lower taxes, balanced budgets and less government competition with private enterprise. He also opposed Kennedy's medicare plan tied to social security. Health care for the aged should be up to the states, said Stinson, "without the controls and tax collectors of Washington, D. C."

The new Washington Congressman also heavily criticized Magnuson for his "soft foreign policy" and his support of aid to Communist nations. According to Washington State political pundits, Stinson is a "comer, a man to watch." He attended the fourth *Human Events* Political Action Conference.

Hall of Missouri Wins New Term

Freshman Representative Durward G. Hall (R.-Mo.) won re-election over Democrat Jim Thomas in a race that featured the medicare issue as well as a general liberal-conservative confrontation.

Hall is remembered as the Congressman who called attention to the blatant political nature of the Federal food stamp program, noting that 25 of the 26 congressional districts selected for this subsidy were represented by Democrats.

The Senate Appropriations Committee acknowledged his charges by directing that the food stamp program be submitted to regular congressional appropriations and controls next year.

Judd For The Senate?

Out of defeat sometimes comes victory. Congressman Walter Judd was defeated on account of redistricting in the state of Minnesota, but now many Republicans believe he can be persuaded to run in 1964 against incumbent Democratic Senator Eugene McCarthy, an extreme liberal (ACA rating: 1.)

Judd has a tremendous following all over the state. Many political commentators believe the odds would be 55 to 45 that he could beat McCarthy.

Minnesotans recall the Dirksen victory over Democratic Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas in 1950. Dirksen was available because he had retired as a Representative in 1948 on account of a serious eye ailment. Recovering in early 1949, Dirksen spent a year and a half going up and down Illinois, ending up with a landslide defeat of the "unbeatable" Scott Lucas.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Conservative Elected in Kansas

Joe Skubitz, a 56-year-old attorney and former aide to the late Kansas Republican Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel, won election as a strong conservative in Kansas' 5th District. His opponent was 33-year-old State Senator Wade A. Myers of Emporia, a farmer and attorney campaigning as a Kennedy Administration Democrat.

Redistricting added several agricultural, semi-industrial and suburban counties to the southeast Kansas district, creating serious problems for the new GOP campaigner. Skubitz also had to heal wounds created by his narrow primary victory over GOP incumbent Walter L. McVey, a conservative elected in 1960. Because of these difficulties, Democrats felt they had an excellent chance to win. Nonpartisan *Congressional Quarterly's* early October outlook was "doubtful to leaning Democratic."

Skubitz' victory, coupled with Bob Dole's decision over Democrat J. Floyd Breeding in the huge 1st District, gives Kansas an all-GOP, five-man House delegation. It had been 5-1 Republican.

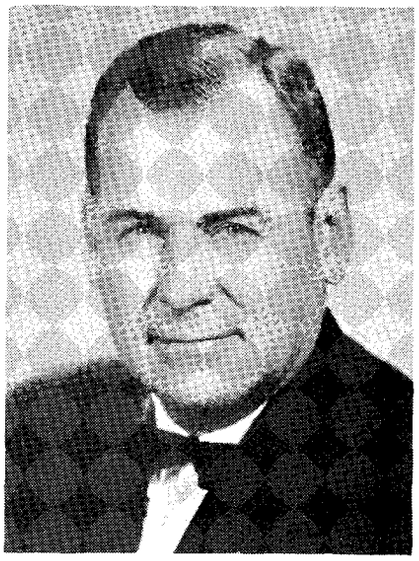
Foe of Medicare Wins in Pennsylvania

In a clash in which medicare played a dominant role, Dr. James D. Weaver, 42, an Erie County physician and Republican leader, defeated an Administration-supported Democrat who attacked the Kerr-Mills Act as "poverty oath medicine." The contest took place in Pennsylvania's 24th District and was over a seat lost by incumbent Republican Carroll D. Kearns in this spring's Republican primary.

The Democratic candidate, Sharpsville Mayor Peter J. Joyce, 51, was considered by Republicans to be the Democrats' strongest candidate in years. Nonpartisan *Congressional Quarterly* rated the outcome as "doubtful to leaning Republican."

Dr. Weaver, who had the strong support of physicians in the three-county northwest Pennsylvania district, called the Kennedy medicare plan "the hoax issue of the campaign," charging Joyce with "political quackery." The GOP candidate told voters that Kerr-Mills meets the health needs of the Nation's elderly.

JAMES D. MARTIN, JR.
Almost Beats Senator Hill



RALPH F. BEERMANN
Re-elected in Nebraska

Anti-Communist Wins In New Hampshire

Former State Attorney General Louis C. Wyman, 45, a staunch GOP conservative and militant anti-Communist, won New Hampshire's 1st District seat in Congress. He replaces Representative Chester E. Merrow, a Republican who has the most liberal voting record of any GOP'er in the House. Merrow sought unsuccessfully to move to the Senate to fill the remaining four years of the late Senator Styles Bridges' term.

Wyman, whose district includes populous Portsmouth, attacked the Kennedy Administration for weakness in conducting foreign affairs and for undermining the country's fiscal stability. He beat J. Oliva Huot, Democratic mayor of Laconia.

The Granite State's other House seat was won by State Senator James C. Cleveland, 41, also a Republican, who succeeds GOP Representative Perkins Bass, loser of the race for Bridges' seat.

Martin's Showing Is Impressive in Alabama

James D. Martin, Jr., young (45), conservative Senatorial candidate in Alabama, came within a hairsbreadth of pulling off the biggest upset in the elections at the expense of veteran, 67-year-old Lister Hill, (D.-Ala.). A switch of fewer than one per cent of the votes would have elected Martin.

Hill had been beating the bushes harder than in any campaign since he was first elected to the Senate in 1938, but Martin still came within a whisker of winning. How was Martin, a newcomer, able to press Hill so hard?

Political observers note a number of factors explaining this extraordinary showing, but the main credit goes to a shrewd new Republican party chairman for Alabama, John E. Grenier. He provided Martin, an articulate businessman, with an enthusiastic party organization by trimming its deadwood and hiring intelligent, energetic workers.

John Little, Martin's campaign manager, says his candidate's "victory" augurs well for the start of a two-party system in Alabama. He claims Southerners voted for Martin because of the Mississippi crisis, which had repercussions in Alabama, and because Alabama voters were "fed up with Lister Hill's left-wing record and the Kennedys."

Nebraska Voters Re-elect Conservatives

Ralph F. Beermann, whom Americans for Constitutional Action rates 100 per cent conservative, won his second term and will represent Nebraska's redistricted 1st District. Glenn Cunningham (ACA: 85 per cent conservative) defeated Dr. Thomas N. Bonner, a college professor with strong liberal-labor support and even stronger liberal leanings, for Nebraska's 2nd District seat (four counties, including Omaha). Meanwhile, Nebraskans in the redistricted huge 3rd District re-elected David T. Martin (his ACA score: 91).

All three carried the endorsement of the Omaha *World-Herald*, which said (October 31): "We sincerely hope . . . that the voters of Nebraska will send back to Washington three Representatives who will not be bound to the Administration by ties of party loyalty, and who will feel free to disagree with the President when, according to their judgment and conscience, disagreement is required."

Nebraskans agreed.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The fight for medicare may be JFK's No.1 goal in the next session of Congress. Join the anti-medicare organization in your neighborhood or area. If there is none, start one yourself.

HUMAN EVENTS

Section Three
November 24, 1962

Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Britain's Nationalized Health Service

By GEORGE WINDER

Reprinted with Permission from the August, 1962, *The Freeman*

THE LATE Lord Horder, who was one of Great Britain's most distinguished surgeons, speaking prior to the time Britain's medical system was taken over by the state, said, "It is universally acknowledged that our health services are the best in the world."

It is probable that a good many other countries will have made the same claim so we shall not press the point except to say that in 1948, when a Socialist government established the British National Health Service, it took over a medical system well up to the standards of the time.

Yet that government seems to have been quite certain that once in the control of the state this system would improve. Many Socialist members of Parliament claimed that the country had, in fact, no medical organization, for they could not conceive of such a thing without a central authority to guide it. The central control which they established would, they believed, not only secure a more efficient medical service but would also ensure a cheaper one.

The expected cost of the new National Health Service had been carefully worked out beforehand by the famous economist, now Lord Beveridge, who arrived at an estimate of 170 million pounds a year. This was less than the 180 million pounds which all medical services were believed to have cost the people in private expenditure before the war. Moreover, it was claimed that this figure should not have changed much by 1965; the improvement in general health which the nationalized services would bring about should prevent any increased costs.

Britain's National Health Service has now functioned for 14 years so let us see to what extent the high hopes for it have been fulfilled.

THE FIRST and most obvious fact is the gross error in the forecast of costs that was made by Lord Beveridge. In the first year the nationalized service cost not 170 million pounds but 377 million pounds. The figure has risen year by year; in 1960 it cost 820 million pounds of which only 23 million pounds was for capital expenditure.

The British cost of living index shows that most prices were multiplied by three between 1938 and 1960. Medical costs, however, are more than four and a half times what they were. This, as we shall see later, has been due, not to any increased remuneration going to doctors, but chiefly to increased hospital expenses.

Below are the published costs of three famous hospitals, in 1938 when they were charitable trusts, and in 1960 when they were state institutions.

These show a rise of costs from six to nine times—far above any increase which can be accounted for by inflation. These figures are typical of an increase which has taken place in all of Britain's hospitals. Administrative costs, included in the above figures, have risen from 11 to 18 times although hospitals no longer have to collect funds from many sources as they did under the old system.

The rising costs of drugs and pharmaceutical preparations have also been of concern to the government. In 1950 these were 37 million pounds and in 1960, 89 million pounds. In 1951, in an effort to prevent waste, the government imposed a charge of one shilling on each prescription. This was increased to two shillings in 1961.

Both these charges were hotly resented by the Socialists as being departures from their principle of free medicine. As a Socialist member of Parliament once expressed it, "If the Tories laid their sacrilegious hands on the Health Service, which the Opposition regarded as the very temple of the nation's social security system, the Labour party would fight it with the same determination which they had brought to fighting the Rent Act."

Such tirades, however, had no effect on the conservative government in its determination to enforce these minor changes, even though they have not stopped the rise in total costs of drugs and pharmaceutical preparations.

THAT ALL BRITISH medical services cost so much more in real terms than they did before they were nationalized might be tolerable if the services the people receive had correspondingly increased. But, who can value that intimate association which should exist between the patient and his doctor? Under the old system of free enterprise the doctor was an authoritative master, a trusted friend and at the same time a servant of his patient, who must pay his fee.

Under the new system now practiced in Great Britain, much of this excellent relationship is undoubtedly retained; nevertheless, it is interrupted by an invisible stranger in the form of a higher medical authority peering over the doctor's shoulder with power to criticize his work and inflict a fine upon him if he is too experimental in his treatment or prescribes too many expensive drugs. The doctor is no longer the servant of the patient but of the National Health Service.

The importance of this change in the doctor's status is difficult to measure. The old traditions are still a powerful force with every honest doctor, but there can be no doubt that the former relationship between the doctor and his patient is slowly being undermined; and this tendency will increase as control passes to a younger generation of medical men who have never known the old ways.

There is little doubt that if the matter were put to a vote the British people after 14 years of experience would still endorse the nationalized system. But this by no means indicates that they are getting better medical services than before; it merely means that they mistakenly believe such services are now costing them nothing.

To the man who is ill, the fact that he can call on a doctor and pay no fees seems to be such an obvious boon that he usually is oblivious to the price he is in fact paying. Thirteen per cent of the cost of the National Health

Hospital	Number of beds		Average weekly cost per patient (in pounds)	
	1938	1960	1938	1960
Guys	690	630	6/ 3/ 8	36/10/11
Charing Cross	293	286	4/10/ 1	36/14/11
Royal Portsmouth	250	205	2/ 9/11	23/ 8/10

Mr. Winder, formerly a solicitor of the Supreme Court of New Zealand, is now farming in England. He has written widely on law, agriculture and economics.

Copyright 1962 by HUMAN EVENTS, Inc.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Service is paid in national insurance contributions, 4 per cent in minor charges and the rest in general taxation. This supposedly free medical service costs an average of over a pound per week per family. One would have to be very ill to pay more than this in direct fees.

It is this lack of association between services rendered and payments made which induces the British voter to turn a blind eye to the defects of his National Health Service.

AS EVERYONE KNOWS, the strength of a demand for any service very largely depends upon its price. When the state took over Britain's medical services and announced that in the future they were to be free, there was an instant and unprecedented increase in the demand for them. Under free enterprise whenever there is a great increase in the demand for any service there is almost always a consequent increase in its supply.

Does the same principle apply to socialized medicine? At first glance, yes. In 1952 there were 27,879 doctors employed by the National Health Service either in hospitals or as general medical practitioners. The number had increased by 1960 to 32, 223. The greater increase took place in the hospitals where the number of salaried doctors rose from 9,650 in 1950 to 12,300 in 1960, that is, by 27 per cent.

During the same period, however, the number of staffed hospital beds increased only 4½ per cent, from 453,000 to 473,000. This can be contrasted with a 33 per cent increase between 1929 and 1938 under the competitive system. In 1935 there were more hospital beds in Britain per thousand inhabitants than there are today, yet one of the chief charges made by the Socialists against the competitive system was that it had insufficient hospital beds.

The small increase in the number of beds, together with the fact that there were 466,000 people on the waiting list for such beds in 1960, certainly suggests that the National Health Service has failed to meet the increased demand that the absence of medical fees has made upon it.

This great shortage of beds has caused the authorities to institute a system of priorities. Acute cases can always be found a bed, but those requiring operations for such complaints as hernia, varicose veins and the like may have to wait up to a year and longer.

PERHAPS THE CHIEF reason for this failure of the National Health Service is that since its inception the building of hospitals has almost ceased. Only one hospital was built in 13 years. Many Socialist doctors before nationalization believed that when the government took over, all financial worries would disappear. With unlimited funds, the government would hasten to build all the hospitals required.

In practice the position has been exactly the opposite. The government has been far more cautious in its capital expenditure than the most conservative of private concerns. Overwhelmed by the unexpected and ever-increasing cost of its Health Service, it has tried to keep down expenditure by checking expansion.

Mr. D. S. Lees, a senior lecturer in economics, in an excellent booklet, *Health Through Choice,* has pointed out that this failure to spend money on new hospitals has been an outstanding feature of the British nationalized Health Service. Whereas before the war the yearly expenditure for capital purposes was about 20 per cent of current health expenditure, since nationalization it has been only about 5 per cent. Many medical men believe that nationalization has actually retarded the development of Britain's medical services and that the British people are receiving a far poorer service than they would have received if the pre-war system had been allowed to continue its development.

In *The Genesis of the British National Health Service,* written by the well-known economist John Jewkes and his wife, the authors support the above conclusion, pointing out that in 1939 Great Britain was more amply supplied with hospital beds in proportion to population than the United States, but that since the war this advantage has disappeared. "It is difficult to escape the conclusion that in the United States the quantity of medical services available for each person is larger and is tending to increase more rapidly than in Great Britain."

They also make comparisons with the medical services of Switzerland which for the most part are still under the competitive system. The Swiss have more doctors and many more hospital beds per 1,000 of population. Between 1948 and 1959, money spent on hospital building per head of population was four times as great in Switzerland as in comparatively wealthy Great Britain. Waiting lists in Swiss hospitals are literally unknown.

True, the British government at last has been stung into activity by constant criticism and this year commenced a program to spend 50 million pounds building hospitals over the next five years. Whether this expenditure will eliminate the long waiting lists for hospital beds remains to be seen.

These waiting lists have angered the Socialists, who seem to have forgotten that they are responsible for the introduction of the nationalized hospital. In their publicity at the general election in 1959 they stated, "Nearly half a million people are waiting for hospital beds; too many doctors' surgeries are still grim and gloomy; too many hospitals are still out-of-date and makeshift; the mental hospitals are overcrowded and dilapidated and, in spite of gallant efforts by those in charge, are quite unsuitable for modern psychiatric care; the committees and staff of the National Health Service have been frustrated by endless administrative delays, and inevitably enthusiasm has been diminished."

AS FOR THE HOPEFUL claim made by Lord Beveridge that the Health Service would improve the health of the people, there is no evidence whatever of this. Infant mortality rates have improved, but so have they in many other countries with entirely different medical systems. Tuberculosis, pneumonia and diphtheria have diminished but the same is true elsewhere. Chronic diseases, cancer and neurosis have increased.

It was claimed that the expenditure on the National Health Service was a form of national investment which would increase wealth by reducing the amount of days lost to industry through sickness; but figures for absence from work on account of illness have in no way diminished.

In summation, the British National Health Service has failed to meet the increased demands made upon it, and even after the change in the value of money is allowed for, medical attention costs the British people a great deal more than before the war.

Moreover, in those material factors which lend themselves to measurement, Britain's medical services have expanded far more slowly than they did in the 30 years before nationalization. They also have expanded more slowly than in the United States and Switzerland where medical treatment has remained, for the most part, on a free enterprise basis. If the British people still believe in their state-owned National Health Service, it is not because of its virtues but solely because of the illusion that it costs them nothing.

IT MAY BE ARGUED that at least the poor have benefited by not having to pay the doctor's fees. Even this is doubtful. Prior to nationalization, the great amount of charitable hospital service, which then existed, looked after them. Today, the poor must share with others the crowded surgeries which are the result of "free medicine."

It could be argued, of course, that these crowded surgeries and hospitals are evidence of the crying need

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for a free medical service which must have existed before nationalization but was concealed by the inability of the poor to pay the doctor's fees. But the crowded surgeries are not due so much to really sick people asking for treatment they could not previously afford as to the desire of many people to have free treatment for the slightest cold or illness.

Before nationalization, a really sick person was sure of treatment whatever his financial means. Now, with the many claims on the doctors' services, a sick person may fail to get the attention his illness requires.

If we look upon the National Health Service as a form of charity, it is worth considering whether the British people really need it. Whereas in 1960 health services cost them 820 million pounds, their beer and spirits cost 1,001 million pounds and their tobacco 1,140 million pounds.

It is sometimes claimed that the chief beneficiaries of the nationalized system are the middle classes who, prior to the National Health Service, had to pay their doctors' fees. It is difficult to see their gain, however. The taxes they pay for medical services they may not receive average well over a pound a week per family. The middle classes do, in fact, pay for medical care, the only real difference being that now they are deprived of some of that personal responsibility which was once the basis of their character.

Only about 5 per cent of the people now employ those doctors who have kept out of the National Health Service. They pay twice over, for they must also pay in taxation their share of costs for the nationalized service.

IN CONSIDERING the doctor himself under Britain's National Health Service, the word "nationalized" may seem a bit out of order. The position of the general practitioner, for instance, is an ambiguous one. He may still have his own private patients if he can get them; but the doctor who originally believed he could get the best of both worlds by having both paying and state patients soon found that the vast majority of them preferred to register under the state system, thus retaining his services at no apparent cost to themselves. The result is that all but a few British doctors now depend on the National Health Service for a living.

Some 600 doctors remained outside the scheme from the beginning and are allowed to carry on under the old competitive system. Lately, these independent practitioners have grown in number, probably due to the growth in private health insurance. In 1948 some 100,000 people subscribed to private health policies; in 1960 more than 1,000,000. According to Dr. John Hunt, secretary of the College of General Practitioners, one-quarter of British doctors have insured their families for private hospital treatment.

The general practitioners employed by the National Health Service are paid, not according to the amount of work they do or the number of patients they attend, but according to the number they can persuade to register on their panel for medical services if they should be required. For every patient on his panel, a doctor receives a fee, whether he attends such patient or not. Therefore, the majority of general practitioners aim to get as many registered patients as possible. A doctor is expected to accept on his panel everyone who applies. But he naturally does his best to avoid potential patients who might require his services too often, such as old people and chronic invalids.

A general practitioner is allowed to have up to 3,500 registered patients, yet doctors claim that about 1,500 is all they can properly attend. More than half of Britain's general practitioners have more than 2,500 patients while 29 per cent have more than 3,000. For each patient on his panel, a doctor now receives $2.73 a year—occasionally more, to induce a doctor to go into unpopular areas or to a country area where the panel must necessarily be small. There are also allowances for "good behavior" such as attending refresher courses.

Out of his capitation fee the doctor must pay the costs of his surgery and the wages of his receptionist or nurse. The fee is the same for the doctor who employs capable assistants and uses the most modern equipment as for the doctor who gets along with the aid of a stethoscope and an overworked wife.

The result is that the doctor who accepts only as many patients as he can conscientiously handle will have a very inadequate income. For more income, a doctor must have a large panel of patients, which will mean a crowded surgery, hurried interviews and often a snap diagnosis. The system places a premium on bad and hasty service. Moreover, because the patient has nothing to pay, he tends to visit his overworked doctor as often as possible. As one doctor has put it, "The patient seeks the doctor to gratify his every whim; the doctor tries everything in his power to avoid the patient."

Under such conditions, it is not surprising when a doctor develops a feeling of guilt and resigns the service, explaining as one did recently, "The horror of this system is that many excellent doctors are trapped by it, but I have hated myself for it and now I am out of it."

Many of the patients also are unhappy. Knowing the reluctance of the doctor to visit them, the more considerate do their best to visit his surgery, though they should have remained in bed. Knowing also that their visit brings the doctor no financial return, some are constantly apologetic. "I'm sorry to trouble you, Doctor," is a phrase constantly on their lips. Others, of course, aggressively insist on their rights and expect the doctor to do anything they demand, such as writing a prescription for some patent medicine they have seen advertised so they can have it at the expense of the National Health Service.

Young doctors sometimes are suspected of prescribing too generously in order to attract new patients to their panels. Many doctors believe their surgeries are looked upon as social centers by women patients.

THERE IS A MINIMUM service which the doctor feels compelled to perform, but only the more conscientious will go beyond this. Most, if they can possibly do so, send their more troublesome jobs to the hospitals, thus adding to the already excessive demands upon those institutions. Simple operations, formerly taken in stride, are now handled this way, as are such time-consuming jobs as a check-up to find out the patient's general state of health.

The district medical executive councils do not seem to resent this passing of responsibility to the crowded hospitals. They even encourage it by forbidding the general practitioner to do a number of jobs which were formerly within his province. In most areas, he is not allowed to do X-rays or blood tests or perform regularly on women patients the cancer-warning Papanicolous test.

One of the most constant complaints of the general practitioner is the great amount of paperwork required by the authorities. The majority of British doctors may still have the skills and loyalties inherited from the past, but under the National Health Service, they have every reason to forget them and to take as little responsibility as possible. Whatever service they may render their patient will not in any way affect their capitation fee.

Since nationalization, the people have developed a habit of suing their doctor in the law courts for negligence. Although such actions existed in the past, they have now become much more common. This again makes the general practitioner reluctant to do more than the minimum required of him. After all, there is a limit to the responsibility one can undertake for 19

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shillings and 6 pence ($2.73). Moreover, medical colleagues on the salaried hospital staff are in no such invidious position, for the government is responsible for their mistakes. This has caused some doctors to suggest that the general medical practitioner would be better off as a salaried official than he is under the present system, in which he has all the disadvantages but none of the advantages of independence.

It is worth noting that this British system of socialized medicine with its capitation payments was adopted in Australia in 1946 by a Socialist government. In 1952 a conservative government abolished it, replacing it by insurance against illness through private companies. Although the government did not entirely desert the medical field, it restored the old and well-tried relationship between doctor and patient. This government, incidentally, is still in power.

IN THE PAST the doctor was responsible only to his patient and to public opinion. Now he has a higher authority which he must conciliate. He may be told, for example, by his district medical executive council that he is giving his patient too many drugs of an expensive kind and that his drug bill which the state has to meet is above the average for his district. If these excessive costs are continued, he may be required to pay a proportion of the bill himself.

Here is a paradoxical instruction to doctors from a recent memorandum by the Ministry of Health: "Without prejudice to the doctor's rights to prescribe whatever he thinks necessary in any individual case, a doctor may be called upon to justify the cost of his prescription." Another memorandum, evidently trying to overcome the natural reluctance of the panel doctor to visit the patient, gives full instruction as to when such visits should be made.

Another cross the general practitioner must bear is that a patient may inform the district medical executive council that his doctor is not giving him the full service to which he feels entitled. Occasionally the public is regaled in the press with a list of fines inflicted on doctors who have committed such offenses as failing to answer night calls. In 1960, disciplinary action was taken against doctors in 410 cases.

But what most troubles the general medical practitioner is that his fixed fee, multiplied by more patients than he can adequately serve, leaves him with a far lower real income than most doctors enjoyed before the war.

In 1951, after an inquiry on the remuneration of doctors, the capitation rate and the salaries of hospital doctors were raised to compensate for inflation. Since then, rates have risen only slightly, but prices generally are up a third, causing a decline in the real income of doctors.

ORDER BLANK

HUMAN EVENTS, 410 First Street, S. E. Washington 3, D. C.

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me

Send me. . . . . .reprints of "BRITAIN'S NATIONALIZED HEALTH SERVICE" at $. . . . . .

Additional copies of this 4-page article: single copy 20c (coins, not stamps); 10 copies $1; 25 copies $2; 100 copies $5; 500 copies $20; 1,000 copies $30. In 5,000 lots $25 per thousand. Unless otherwise ordered, reprints are sent by fourth-class mail, which takes ten days to two weeks for delivery. For first-class mail delivery of 4-page articles add 1c per copy; for airmail add 2c per copy.

Enter my subscription ☐ 5 weeks for $1 ☐ 1 year for $12.50

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

NATURALLY DOCTORS are dissatisfied. Older members of the profession seldom can do anything about it, but the younger members are showing their disapproval by simply leaving the country.

John R. Seale, M. D., M. R. C. P., has shown the extent of this exodus in a booklet published by The Fellowship for Freedom in Medicine. Although doctors have always emigrated from Great Britain, they are leaving now at a rate higher than ever before.

Between 1956 and 1960, of doctors trained in British medical schools, 1,070 have emigrated to Canada, 1,100 to Australia, 190 to New Zealand and 750 to the United States.

In the 12 months of 1960 more doctors trained in England and Ireland emigrated to the United States than in the whole period from 1930 to 1939.

Canadian statistics show that British doctors are entering Canada at a rate five times as great as that for British immigrants in general. Last year, one-third of the medical students who qualified in Great Britain left the country.

Moreover, knowledge of the disadvantages under which British doctors are now serving has penetrated to the rising generation. Although the number of students at British universities has doubled since the war, the number studying medicine has actually decreased since the introduction of the National Health Service. There were 14,200 medical students at British universities in 1950 compared with 12,700 in 1958.

The resulting vacuum in the British Health Service has to be filled with doctors from the Commonwealth and by foreigners. Before the war, some 200 Commonwealth doctors a year registered in Great Britain, chiefly from Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In 1960 the number was 1,400, mostly from India and Pakistan.

The number of foreign doctors registering before the war with the British Medical Council was under a dozen a year. In 1960 it was 1,701 and last year over 2,000—from such places as Syria, Spain, Greece, Peru, Turkey, Japan and Yugoslavia. Some of these are well-trained but, as Dr. Seale points out, others are from medical schools of which the British authorities can have very little knowledge. Nearly half of all junior posts are now held by doctors from overseas.

A report issued by the Nuffield Provincial Trust showed that in many casualty departments the provision of medically qualified supervision had broken down and that able nursing sisters were making the diagnosis and carrying out the treatment. A doctor was usually available, but often he spoke no language in which he could be understood. Recently the General Hospital at Weston-super-Mare advertised for a senior house officer in surgery. It received applications from one Briton, one Australian, one Portugese, one Greek, one Japanese, three Anglo-Indians, three Egyptians, five Pakistanis and 43 Indians.

Young British doctors who have some memory and regard for older medical traditions seem to be expressing their opinion of their National Health Service in that manner sometimes described as "voting with their feet." British nurses are infected by the same spirit. There is a general dissatisfaction with their rates of pay and, for the first time in British history, there has been talk of a nurses' strike.

Fortunately, the high ideals of the profession have prevailed. It takes some time to undermine a good medical system and particularly to destroy the long-established traditions of trust between doctor and patient which the older British doctors remember. Nevertheless, the British National Health Service is doing both.

Perhaps the greatest tragedy is that the generation of Britons now growing to manhood may unquestioningly accept the National Health Service, for they never will have known anything better.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thanksgiving, 1962

A Time to Think of Freedom

Three hundred and thirty-nine years ago, America's Pilgrim forefathers celebrated their first Thanksgiving on the rugged New England coast where they had landed the year before, following their flight from the dictatorial reign of King James.

In Holland, where they had stayed for a time after leaving England, the Pilgrims encountered Thanksgiving observances that dated to Biblical times. When they came to the New World, the Pilgrims brought the custom with them.

The Pilgrims had much to offer thanks for that first year. They had constructed a community out of the wilderness, their crops had prospered, and ample food was stored for winter. But most important, the Pilgrims had at last found freedom to pursue their religious beliefs and govern their own lives.

This Thanksgiving, Americans can be thankful for those freedoms which are still intact and for the abundance that freedom has produced. But they might also reflect on those freedoms which have already been lost.

(Continued on other side)

You can see to it that more voices are raised for freedom in the months ahead. Mail your Christmas gift subscription list to *Human Events* today before the Holiday rush!

YOUR NAME:

Name . . . . .
Address . . . . .
City . . . . . .Zone . . . .State . . . . .

☐ I have given at least one subscription.

☐ Renew my subscription at $9.50

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me

☐ My order is $75 or more. Send me the Jan-June, 1962, bound volume.
☐ My order is $150 or more. Send me BOTH bound volumes for 1962.

Send Subscriptions for the Term Indicated to:

Name . . . . .
Address . . . . .
City . . . . . .Zone . . . .State . . . . .
Send gift card listing my name as: . . . . .
. . . . .

☐ 1 year ($9.50) ☐ 6 month ($5.50) ☐ 3 month ($3.50)

Name . . . . .
Address . . . . .
City . . . . . .Zone . . . .State . . . . .
Send gift card listing my name as: . . . . .
. . . . .

☐ 1 year ($9.50) ☐ 6 month ($5.50) ☐ 3 month ($3.50)

Name . . . . .
Address . . . . .
City . . . . . .Zone . . . .State . . . . .
Send gift card listing my name as: . . . . .
. . . . .

☐ 1 year ($9.50) ☐ 6 month ($5.50) ☐ 3 month ($3.50)

Name . . . . .
Address . . . . .
City . . . . . .Zone . . . .State . . . . .
Send gift card listing my name as: . . . . .
. . . . .

☐ 1 year ($9.50) ☐ 6 month ($5.50) ☐ 3 month ($3.50)

Name . . . . .
Address . . . . .
City . . . . . .Zone . . . .State . . . . .
Send gift card listing my name as: . . . . .
. . . . .

☐ 1 year ($9.50) ☐ 6 month ($5.50) ☐ 3 month ($3.50)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A commentary on the state of American freedom is provided by the Amish, a puritanical religious sect—in many respects similar to the Pilgrims—that seeks to maintain its identity and freedom in the midst of an unsympathetic and often scornful society.

Conflicts between Amish religious beliefs and social security taxes have caused some Amish leaders to consider moving to a more congenial, free environment, possibly Canada or Australia. Should this group ever depart from the shores of the United States to seek a new home, it will be a striking indication of the loss of individual freedom to an all-powerful state.

Yet, Americans still have much to be thankful for this Thanksgiving Day, 1962. Will they have more or less to be thankful for a year from now?

All year long *Human Events* reports the news from the Nation's Capital and counsels Americans on what they must do to preserve and further a free America and its fundamental institutions.

As the Christmas season approaches, what better gift could you give your relatives or friends than a subscription to *Human Events* at our special Christmas gift rates?

You can see to it that more voices are raised for freedom in the months ahead. Mail your Christmas gift list today before the Holiday rush!

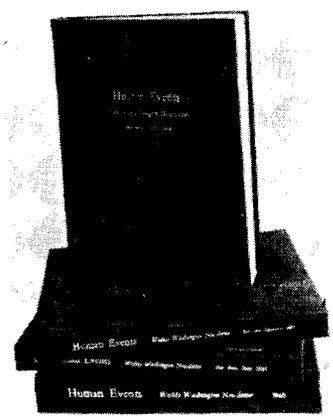
Make a list of people in your community or your occupation who might become political activists if they read *Human Events*. Give Christmas gifts of *Human Events* subscriptions at the special $9.50 rate and SAVE $3 ON YOUR OWN SUBSCRIPTION by renewing it at the same time.

Mail your Christmas list today!

Your Christmas list this year can be a constructive act toward preserving a free America.

A Gift For You . . .

when you send a gift subscription order of $75 or more. This entitles you to a FREE bound volume of *Human Events* for January-June, 1962, with complete index (regular price, $15). A gift subscription order of $150 or more entitles you to both the bound volumes for 1962, January-June and July-December.



Fill out the coupons below with the names of the people you want working in your corner in the 1964 election campaigns. Begin NOW to take advantage of this opportunity and the special Christmas gift rates for *Human Events*.

Fill out your name on other side

Name . . . . . .
Address . . . . . .
City . . . . . .Zone . . . .State . . . . . .
Send gift card listing my name as: . . . . . .
. . . . . .

☐ 1 year ($9.50) ☐ 6 month ($5.50) ☐ 3 month ($3.50)

Name . . . . . .
Address . . . . . .
City . . . . . .Zone . . . .State . . . . . .
Send gift card listing my name as: . . . . . .
. . . . . .

☐ 1 year ($9.50) ☐ 6 month ($5.50) ☐ 3 month ($3.50)

Name . . . . . .
Address . . . . . .
City . . . . . .Zone . . . .State . . . . . .
Send gift card listing my name as: . . . . . .
. . . . . .

☐ 1 year ($9.50) ☐ 6 month ($5.50) ☐ 3 month ($3.50)

Name . . . . . .
Address . . . . . .
City . . . . . .Zone . . . .State . . . . . .
Send gift card listing my name as: . . . . . .
. . . . . .

☐ 1 year ($9.50) ☐ 6 month ($5.50) ☐ 3 month ($3.50)

Name . . . . . .
Address . . . . . .
City . . . . . .Zone . . . .State . . . . . .
Send gift card listing my name as: . . . . . .
. . . . . .

☐ 1 year ($9.50) ☐ 6 month ($5.50) ☐ 3 month ($3.50)

Name . . . . . .
Address . . . . . .
City . . . . . .Zone . . . .State . . . . . .
Send gift card listing my name as: . . . . . .
. . . . . .

☐ 1 year ($9.50) ☐ 6 month ($5.50) ☐ 3 month ($3.50)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Section Five
November 24, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Republican Near-Wins

5 Governorships, 17 House Seats, 6 Senate Seats

A second look at the elections makes the Republican Party look stronger than the early returns indicated. A detailed inspection shows that the Democrats won most of the close races—for governorships, Senate seats and House seats. This distortion, therefore, exaggerated the Democratic victories.

A sounder comparison of the two parties lies in the voting percentages. In the 29 governorship races outside the South the Republicans got 51.9 per cent of the vote; the Democrats got 48.1 per cent of the vote. The GOP vote (outside the South) was 17,256,261. The Democratic vote: 15,990,095 (compilation by the *U. S. News & World Report*).

In the 32 Senate races outside the South, the GOP got 50.6 per cent. The Democrats, 49.4 per cent. GOP vote total, 18,551,149; Democrats, 18,074,307.

The Governorships

Subject to recounts, here are the close ones lost by the Republicans.

MASSACHUSETTS: While Senator Edward M. "Ted" Kennedy won by a 284,985 landslide over his Republican opponent, Democrat Endicott Peabody defeated Republican incumbent John A. Volpe in the governor's race 1,051,678 to 1,048,491—50.08 per cent to 49.92 per cent.

VERMONT: The Democratic party pulled an "Operation Eastern Shore" in the "safely Republican" state of Vermont. While the Republican party was sleeping, the Democrats captured the governorship by 241 votes.

Philip H. Hoff, Democrat, got 59,783. Republican incumbent F. Ray Keyser got 59,542—50.1 per cent to 49.9 per cent. The AFL-CIO's political arm, COPE, has been giving increasing attention to Vermont. Vermont Republicans, still living in the past, have been taking the state for granted.

RHODE ISLAND: This state has been the Democratic stronghold of New England as Vermont has been the Republican. The 1956 race for governor was a hairline finish in which the Democrat, Dennis J. Roberts, got the office because the State Supreme Court ruled that absentee ballots received before the election date could not be included. The Republican, Christopher Del Sesto, had the majority but for this decision.

At this writing, Democratic incumbent John A. Notte, Jr., was leading by 200 votes out of almost 320,000 cast.

If Republicans can win or come close to winning the governorship in Rhode Island, they can win Senate and House seats. In 1964 the Senate seat of John O. Pastore comes up as well as the two House seats.

NORTH DAKOTA: The incumbent Democratic Governor William L. Guy was leading by 1,937 votes. The latest returns were 114,493 for the Democrat and 112,556 for Republican nominee Mark Andrews—50.4 per cent to 49.6 per cent.

MINNESOTA: This is the cliff hanger. At this writing, the Democrat, Karl Rolvaag, is leading by 139 votes. The totals are 619,779 for Rolvaag and 619,640 for Republican Governor Elmer L. Andersen—50.06 per cent to 49.94 per cent.

In the House, Walter H. Judd lost as a result of the redistricting addition of the solidly Democratic section of Minneapolis. The state has another undecided seat, the 6th district (19 counties west and north of Minneapolis) where the Democrat, Alex Olson, is leading Republican Robert J. Odegard. The Democrat leads 77,700 to 77,326—50.1 per cent to 49.9 per cent.

There is a feeling in Minnesota that the loss of these close contests may dissolve the feuding which has seriously hurt the party's statewide chances for a dozen years. If unity and cooperation can prevail before 1964, Walter Judd might then decisively beat the extremely liberal incumbent Democratic Senator Eugene McCarthy, and the party might recover the 6th district House seat. Foundations for victory are often laid in defeat.

The House Races

The Republicans increased their representation in the House by two and the Democrats lost four. The difference was due to the fact that the House had two more members in the 87th Congress than it will have in the new 88th.

The Republicans lost 17 close races—listed below. A study of these tabulations indicates how a little additional extra effort by conservatives in those districts would have resulted in a Republican gain of 19 instead of only 2. If that had happened, you would have seen an entirely different set of headlines on the morning after election. The GOP made a net gain of 21 in the 1960 elections and that gain had a profound effect upon congressional attitudes toward Kennedy-sponsored legislation.

Here are the 17 contests which could have been won by Republicans if only a very small amount of additional energy had been devoted to registering and bringing out the full conservative vote:

Republicans are listed in all-capital letters.

CALIFORNIA		
Clement Miller	99,740	50.9
DON CLAUSEN	96,188	49.1
Lionel Van Deerlin	62,263	51.3
DICK WILSON	59,122	48.7
CONNECTICUT		
William St. Onge	83,424	50.7
MOSES SAVIN	80,988	49.3
ILLINOIS		
William T. Murphy	77,259	51.3
ERNEST E. MICHAELS	73,243	48.7
George E. Shipley	90,259	51.6
EDWARD H. JENISON	84,619	48.4
INDIANA		
J. Edward Roush	91,921	51.7
GEORGE O. CHAMBERS	85,713	48.3
MARYLAND		
Clarence D. Long	84,779	52.0
J. FIFE SYMINGTON, JR.	78,161	48.0
MINNESOTA		
Donald M. Fraser	87,008	51.8
WALTER H. JUDD	80,871	48.2
Alex G. Olson	77,700	50.1
ROBERT J. ODEGARD	77,326	49.9
NEW YORK		
Hugh L. Carey	55,570	50.4
FRANCIS E. DORN	54,692	49.6
John M. Murphy	57,395	47.2
ROBERT T. CONNOR	55,655	45.8
George B. Murphy (Liberal)	8,451	7.0
OHIO		
Robert T. Secrest	41,820	51.1
TOM V. MOOREHEAD	40,056	48.9
PENNSYLVANIA		
George M. Rhodes	111,818	51.3
IVOR D. FENTON	106,055	48.7
TENNESSEE		
Clifford Davis	55,331	50.6
ROBERT B. JAMES	54,088	49.4
TEXAS		
Lindley Beckworth	27,229	52.1
WILLIAM M. STEGER	25,025	47.9
VIRGINIA		
J. Vaughan Gary	28,946	49.8
LOUIS H. WILLIAMS	28,603	49.2
John O. Marsh, Jr.	26,310	50.6
J. KENNETH ROBINSON	25,728	49.4

David Lawrence has pointed out that the Democrats this year did not reach their 1958 total in the House nor the totals of any of the first five FDR congressional elections.

The total Democratic representation in the House for those years is as follows:

1962	259
1960	263
1958	283

FDR's first five congressional elections

1940	267
1938	262
1936	333
1934	322
1932	313

The Senate

Analysis of the returns shows that the GOP could with a little more effort have won 4 to 6 more Senate seats.

Copyright 1962 by HUMAN EVENTS, Inc.,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOUTH DAKOTA: The closest race was in South Dakota where the Republican nominee was Senator Joseph Bottum appointed a few months ago to take the place of the late Senator Francis Case. Bottum is 211 votes behind George McGovern, the extreme liberal Democratic nominee. The total vote was 128,698 for McGovern and 128,487 for Bottum. Percentages: 50.001 to 49.999!

During all of September and October, Bottum was considered to be ahead, though not by much. The turn is said to have come during the last week when money from outside the state poured in for McGovern. It is believed that the final report of expenditures will disclose a substantial amount of McGovern money and manpower sent into the state by COPE, the Farmers Union and other liberal organizations.

ALABAMA: Senator Lister Hill, extreme liberal, has either had landslide victories or no opposition since he went to the Senate in 1938. There were large numbers of conservatives in the state who refused to believe that James D. Martin, the Republican nominee, had a chance; therefore, they did nothing. Now they are sorely regretful. Hill's vote was 200,781; Martin's was 193,746. The percentages were 50.9 to 49.1.

The surprising Republican vote may produce a prodigious effort in 1964 to get rid of the liberal Democrats in the congressional delegation and to put the state in the Republican column for the Presidency—if the nominee is a conservative.

INDIANA: Both the winner and the loser both agree the Indiana seat in the Senate was lost because of GOP over confidence—by the loser, Senator Capehart, and by many of his supporters. Capehart got 49.73 per cent of the vote and the winner, Birch Bayh, 50.27 per cent. The numerical totals were 905,609 to 896,234.

As in other states, the Democrats had the enormous advantage of COPE's full-time political specialists. The television broadcasts for Bayh consisted of "label" smearing.

Here's how it is done: A reporter asks a farmer whether he is going to vote for Capehart. The answer: "No! Capehart votes against the farmer."

There was no explanation of the roll calls on which Capehart voted "against" the farmer. Had there been, viewers might have concluded that Capehart voted FOR the farmer and FOR housewives who are worried about their food budgets.

The reporter then asks a man in overalls whether he is going to vote for Capehart. Answer: "Certainly not. Capehart votes against labor." Again no explanation of how Capehart voted "against" the working man. The explanation might have helped Capehart. Working men might have concluded that the Capehart votes were pro-labor rather than anti. Hoosiers have indicated time and time again their antagonism to Reutherism. They certainly do not want their state to become like UAW-controlled Michigan. But having a laboring man say that Capehart is "anti-labor" avoids discussion of the issues.

The reporter asks an aged couple whether they intend to vote for Capehart. "Absolutely not! Capehart votes against the elderly."

After other categories have been queried in similar fashion comes the climax: "Capehart is against the people." And the obvious conclusion: go to the polls and vote against this "enemy of the people."

One of the difficulties of the conservative position was stated 114 years ago by Bastiat, the French economist. He said: "Economic fallacies can be states plausibly in a single sentence. The answer may require a textbook."

It is a tribute to the common sense of the American people that so large a number do see through the big promises of the demagogues.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: New Hampshire has been more Republican in recent years than Vermont. After 1958 the GOP had the highest proportion of elected officials of any state in the union. It had the governorship, the two Senate seats, both House seats, and GOP majorities in both houses of the legislature.

As a result of poor sportsmanship by the losers in the Republican primary, the governor-elect and the new senator are Democrats.

For the seat held by the late Senator Styles Bridges, there were four contenders. Maurice Murphy, Jr., who had been given the interim appointment; the widow, Doloris Bridges, and the two New Hampshire members of the House, Perkins Bass and Chester Merrow.

Bass won the primary.

Merrow, whose ACA rating (25 per cent) was the lowest of any Republican, told his supporters to vote Democratic. His attitude was duplicated by Governor Powell, who was defeated for renomination. Powell could not stand the shattering of his dreams of himself as the Republican dark horse Presidential nominee in 1964. Mrs. Bridges refused to appear at the Eisenhower rally held to promote Bass' election.

Thus handicapped, Bass lost to Democrat Thomas J. McIntyre. McIntyre got 111,088 votes to Bass' 102,917. Percentages: 51.9 to 48.1.

CONNECTICUT: By only a "squeak," former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff won a Senate seat that was supposed to be his by a landslide. His vote was 526,947. The Republican nominee, Seely-Brown's vote was 500,461. Percentages were 51.3 to 48.7.

John Bailey, the national chairman, whose reputation was at stake, made sure that the full Democratic vote was gotten to the polls. Lacking faith in their chances, the Republicans fell down badly.

There were similar experiences in other states. The Democrats have the advantage of the regimented manpower of the AFL-CIO's political machine, COPE. A half-dozen active full-time agents working the year round solely to card-index, diagram and organize political action—down to the last household—can be worth far more than $100,000 in campaign contributions.

Many AFL-CIO unions have already given their full-time political strategists the task of enlisting and training their troops in congressional districts and states for 1964. Their prime appeal is to the "gimme" groups.

The Democrats have set up other committees to entice away from the Republicans those businessmen who are willing to sell their souls to the candidates who can get the most "money from Washington."

Despite all these advantages, which suggest New Frontier invincibility, the instinct for freedom and morality in the American people is strong enough so "liberalism" is rejected in a large part of the USA. The liberal strongholds are the biggest cities, but even there, liberal victories can be held down by the prevention of vote frauds.

WASHINGTON: In some ways, the most heartbreaking contest was the Senate race in the State of Washington. Senator Magnuson got 435,246 votes. His little known opponent, a 32-year-old Lutheran minister named Richard G. Christensen got 394,360 votes. Percentages: 52.5 to 47.5.

Human Events for November 17 discussed this race in some detail. "Maggie" was considered unbeatable. He had the support of the state's Big Business; Magnuson is their salesman to the Defense Department. Getting "money from Washington" was Magnuson's irresistible argument.

"Maggie" had the support of organized labor and in proportion to its industrial population the state of Washington is the most unionized in the Union.

Therefore, many conservatives refused to "bother." Had they realized that 394,000 persons would vote for Christensen despite these factors, Washington state might in January be represented by a 100 per cent conservative instead of a 100 per cent liberal.

Give the Vote to America's Finest Citizens

There are today some 5 to 7 million disfranchised citizens in the United States—the mobile population, those who move around.

In the order of their numerical importance, these persons consist of (1) the junior executives, technicians and skilled workers (2) the aged (3) the more ambitious of the unskilled. These groups are the most enterprising elements in the population. They believe in thrift and self-responsibility. They have the pioneer spirit that built America.

All evidence suggests that these groups are 2-to-1 Republican or better. If legislatures will change the laws to enfranchise them, an additional conservative vote of 1 to 3 million can be obtained. Had the mobile population had the vote in 1960, JFK would have been decisively defeated. In 1962, it is probable that the House would have gone Republican and the next GOP gain in the Senate might have been five to 8.

The amendments required should allow votes to be cast for the Presidency and Congressional seats by anyone who has been in the state 30 days. The issues affecting those races are national, not local. In most instances, one can cast an intelligent vote for Congress by voting for the candidate of the party of one's preference—without even knowing his name.

A period no longer than six months should be necessary to allow voting for state and local offices.

In many states and districts, the results of this change would be revolutionary. Let this proposal become an assignment immediately for all conservatives. Nearly all legislatures meet next January. See your own members of the legislature. Write your governor. Get this program passed in your state. The 1964 election is not far away.

Reprints of this article are available: single copy, 15 cents; 15 for $1; 35 for $2; 125 for $5; 300 for $10; 1,000 for $20. Order by section number and date of issue.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Section Six
November 24, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS

Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Bobby Wields The Big Stick

From the Tulsa *Tribune*

In an amazing interview, published on October 7 exclusively in *The Sunday Times* of London, Attorney General Robert Kennedy has stepped far out of his role as an enforcer of Supreme Court decisions and revealed himself as a manipulator seeking ways to punish the South that have not until now been considered part of an attorney general's function.

Said Mr. Kennedy:

"I have been talking this week to the top executives of 40 important business firms whose central offices are not in the South, but who have branches and investments in Mississippi, and have asked them to use their influence, either by persuasion or by threatening to curtail their investments in Mississippi, but I doubt whether it will have much of an effect."

This is fantastic. Here is the attorney general, whose office has the power to greatly embarrass corporations by prosecutions of various kinds, advising American businessmen that he would be pleased if they would threaten to close Mississippi factories and curtail Mississippi payrolls. But this isn't all. Mr. Kennedy continued:

"I have recently talked to two publishers whose newspaper chains include newspapers in Alabama to try and infuse some sanity in their readers, but it is very difficult to change the climate if most media of communication are working against you."

The current dispute is not in Alabama but in Mississippi. Yet Bob Kennedy is apparently ready to use his persuasion, if not his power, on northern owners of chain newspapers so that those owners will send directives pleasing to Kennedy to their editors in Alabama.

But that's still not all. To the English reporter Mr. Kennedy continued:

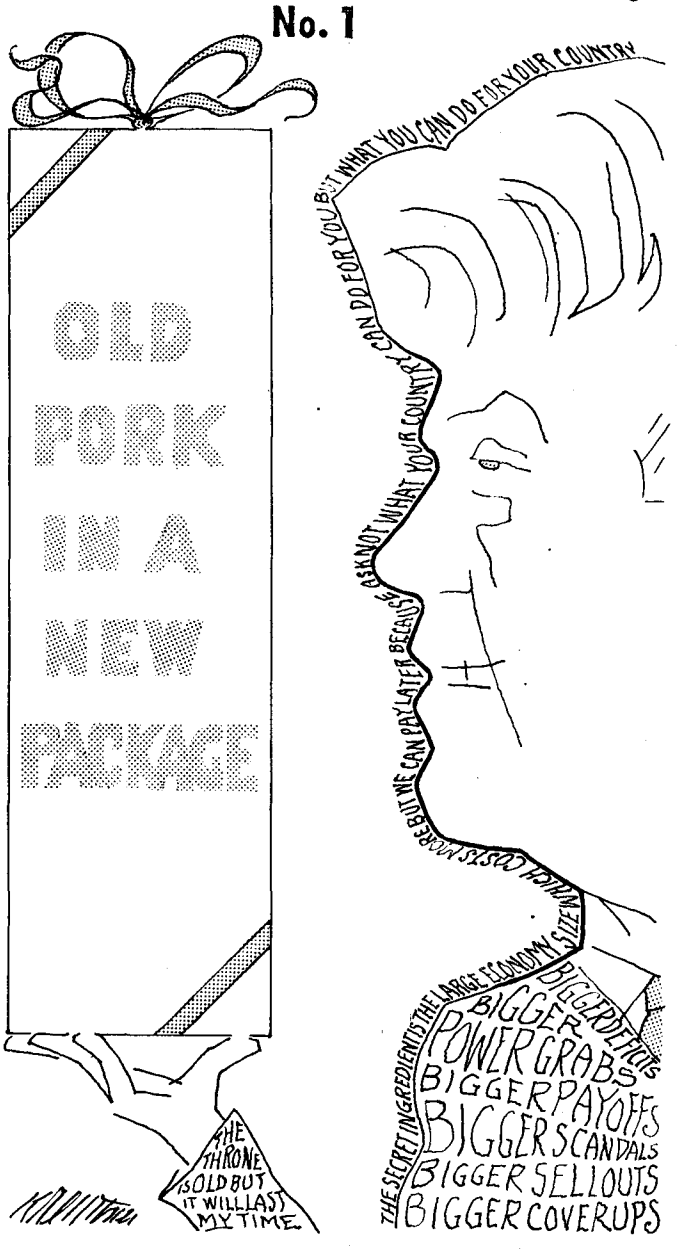
"The Federal government is spending about 650 million dollars in Mississippi, even though the state pays only 350 million dollars in Federal taxes. There are possibilities of withholding some Federal money from Mississippi, but it's a lever that must be handled with great delicacy."

You're darned right, Mr. Kennedy. That should certainly be treated with great delicacy. Because Federal funds to states are supposed to be allocated according to the legitimate needs of the citizens and the resources of those states, and if the Kennedys are going to try to turn Federal appropriations into a gigantic blackjack to force citizens to do what the Kennedys want them to do, the country had better learn about it now.

In our memory, no high American official has ever issued a more arrogant statement of intentions. However wrong the citizens of Mississippi may be, the attorney general's plan to go beyond his power to enforce the law and to use other means to impose his will on the South carries grave forebodings. Does he understand constitutional government, or is a Royal Family really rising?

Profiles in Newfrontery

No. 1


OLD
PORK
IN A
NEW
PACKAGE
ASK NOT WHAT YOUR COUNTRY CAN DO FOR YOU BUT WHAT YOU CAN DO FOR YOUR COUNTRY
BUT WE CAN PAY LATER BECAUSE
BROWN SUGAR FROM HAWAII
THE SECRET INGREDIENT IS THE LARGE ECONOMY SIZE
BIGGER DEFICITS
BIGGER POWER GRABS
BIGGER PAYOFFS
BIGGER SCANDALS
BIGGER SELLOUTS
BIGGER COVERUPS
THE THRONE IS OLD BUT IT WILL LAST MY TIME

STEPPING ON UN TOES—"The policy of the UN in the former Belgian Congo causes me great anxiety because it proceeds from a total ignorance of the country's problems. It is a grave error to try and unite by force people so profoundly divided among themselves. If Katanga is unwilling to be reunited with the Congo, the UN should respect its wishes and not try to impose its own will at any cost." (Dr. Albert Schweitzer, August 28, 1961)

IN A CLASS BY HERSELF—"There's one thing about that expedition for a closer look at Venus: If she's anything like her statue, at least she won't have a hand out." (Nashville Banner)

Copyright 1962 by HUMAN EVENTS, Inc.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Difficult Days for Liberal Pundits

By MICHAEL PADEV
From the Indianapolis *Star*

Pity the so-called "liberal" commentators on international affairs these days.

For many months they have been telling us that a Cuban blockade would be the most irresponsible and dangerous thing to do. Anybody who even suggested a tougher policy toward Castro was denounced as a warmonger, a right-wing extremist and a half-crazed fanatic.

But now that the "right-wing" Cuban policy has been adopted by a Democratic President who, moreover, is—was?—the darling of all "liberal" newspapermen, the "liberal" commentators are changing their tune. The blockade has now become a statesmanlike, courageous act initiated by a wise and far-seeing chief executive.

Well, as they say, it's better late than never, and we shouldn't resent the late-coming "liberals." There is always time to learn. The fact that most of the "liberal" commentators like the Cuban blockade today, while disliking it passionately only a few days ago, should, I suppose, prove there is some hope even for "liberal" newspapermen nowadays. What we should do is send them a copy of the Indianapolis *Star* every day. If they read it regularly, they might, perhaps, see the point sooner, when the next international crisis hits the headlines!

But no medicine of any kind, I am afraid, can ever save the commander-in-chief of the "liberal" forces of newspaper columnists—Walter Lippmann. Nobody has been more wrong on more subjects and more often than Lippmann, somebody said the other day. I think this is true. And yet I like reading Lippmann, not only in order—as the Texan said—to keep my disgust fresh, but, frankly, in quest of information. How come? It's very simple. If Lippmann says something, I know it is either untrue or absurd; if he recommends a policy, I know that's exactly the policy we shouldn't follow, if we want to avoid disaster.

LIPPMANN

Take Lippmann on Cuba, for example.

On the day President Kennedy proclaimed the blockade, Lippmann argued that the blockade idea was not possible because the Soviets were going to blockade Turkey in retaliation. Now, you only have to look at the map to see that this supposition is more than slightly crazy. How could the Soviets possibly blockade Turkey? Turkey is almost an island, and all its shores, except the north one on the Black Sea (where there are no important ports), face waters which are under absolute Western control. It is Turkey that can successfully blockade Russia, by closing the most important Russian maritime outlet to the outside world—the Bosphorus. Perhaps Lippmann has his countries mixed up!

Beware, Sailor!

Further on, in a second column after the blockade was proclaimed, Lippmann proposed that the United States should offer a deal to Russia—if Khrushchev withdraws his bases in Cuba we should withdraw the NATO bases in Turkey. (Lippmann seems to have an obsession with Turkey.) Why? Because, Lippmann pontificates, the Russian bases in Cuba are "of little military value"—the same as the NATO bases in Turkey. Lippmann, in other words, makes a liar out of the President of the United States who has told the American Nation that he is risking nuclear war precisely because the Russian bases in Cuba are of utmost military importance—the Communists can destroy us from there without much ado and in a matter of minutes.

In addition, all military experts I have spoken to, including high NATO strategists in Europe, agree that the NATO bases in Turkey are among the most vital allied bases in the world. Through those bases, in case of war, our bombs and missiles can reach the heartland of Russia in a matter of minutes.

In short, if you believe Lippmann, you must believe that all American and allied military leaders and strategy experts are stark mad.

I prefer to believe that the opposite is true.

What do you think?

Reprints of this section are available: single copy, 15 cents; 15 for $1; 35 for $2; 125 for $5; 300 for $10; 1,000 for $20. Order by section number and date of issue.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Section Seven
November 24, 1962

HUMAN EVENTS
Your Weekly Washington Report

410 First Street S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

In Alexandria, Virginia

Negro Property Owners Critical of Renewal

By ROSS HERMANN

ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA, a Washington, D. C., suburb famous as the "Home of George Washington," today is a battleground over urban renewal and public housing.

The Alexandria controversy, now partially resolved after raging for months, centers around a $10 million urban renewal plan to rebuild the heart of the declining downtown business area and an adjoining residential section. In dispute until recently was a 225-unit public housing project which the Federal government said must be built to rehouse families displaced by urban renewal as a condition for receiving Federal funds.

City officials, too weak to withstand the potent enticement of a Federal offer to pay two-thirds of urban renewal, rushed ahead with plans to provide public housing but ran head-on into opposition from some of the very people it was intended to benefit.

A leading combatant in the public housing dispute was the Durant Civic Association, a Negro citizens' group, which protested that the construction of public housing would require the destruction of a major portion of Negro-owned property in Alexandria, including almost all of the Negro-owned commercial establishments.

"These are not slums," argued A. Melvin Miller, attorney and president of the Negro association. "In fact they are among the best areas available to Negro occupancy within the city. Many of these units have been recently rehabilitated, and many more are presently being rehabilitated. The city would certainly be defeating its overall purpose to destroy the very areas where residents are attempting to upgrade their properties."

Anyone walking through the disputed areas will observe that many of the homes, though old, are well-painted, clean and neatly-kept by their proud owners.

Negro leaders, while upset over the impending destruction of private property, also expressed a deep-seated dislike of public housing, protesting its monotonous, regimented atmosphere and deploring its demoralizing influence on the individual.

"It is deplorable that the Negro youth of our city must be continually exposed throughout their formative years to public housing and so much of it," declared Miller.

CITY OFFICIALS, anxious to see Federal funds start flowing from Washington, boldly announced that Alexandria must push forward in providing all of its citizens with "clean, safe and sanitary" housing and slated the disputed neighborhoods for eventual condemnation. Many Negroes, who through their own initiative and hard work already have "clean, safe and sanitary" housing, take the pronouncement as an insult and wonder why they must give up their homes.

For the most part, Alexandria's Negroes are not transients or recent migrants. Many of them are descendants of families who have lived in the city for as long as a hundred years—people who own their own property, pay taxes, and have a genuine attachment to the community.

At the time of a public hearing last summer, condemnation of property for public housing would have given many of these citizens a simple choice: either move into public housing (which many of them thoroughly detest) or move out of Alexandria. A number of families whose income is too high for them to qualify for public housing were faced with the prospect of having to leave the city. The fact of the matter is that little property is available in Alexandria for sale to Negroes.

With this hectic situation forced upon them, many of Alexandria's Negroes jammed into the city hall to plead their cases before the city council.

As one Alexandrian put it, "These are thrifty, substantial people. They've struggled for years to own their own little piece of property. It is part of them. You can't take that away."

Rev. Thomas A. Robinson, a retired Negro Presbyterian minister, pleaded the case of a 71-year-old widow who operates a corner grocery store and lives in one of the areas to be condemned.

"Her house and store are in A-1 condition, she's always paid her taxes, she's never given anyone any trouble, and she's raised a fine family. Now she's 71 years old, and her business is her only means of support. She's just too old and doesn't have enough strength to start all over again.

"It seems to me that we must encourage—not destroy—thrift, self-reliance, and free enterprise. That's the way this nation was built."

After hearing a barrage of complaints, the Alexandria City Council brushed aside these appeals and approved the controversial public housing sites. Such trivia could not be allowed to hold up nearly $7 million in Federal urban renewal funds.

THE PROSPECT that residents might be forced to leave the city caused the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency to require that the city make housing available to such persons as a further condition for approval of the urban renewal project. The city indicated recently that it had received assurances from several firms that low-cost private housing would be built and made available for sale to Negroes.

"But that's just talk," commented one respected Negro leader. "So far, they haven't arranged anything official."

If plans for new low-cost housing do materialize,

Copyright 1962 by HUMAN EVENTS, Inc.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it will not come as much of a consolation to many of these people who will be displaced. The fact still remains that established neighborhoods, where many of the residents have lived for as long as 20 or 30 years, will be uprooted, community ties broken, and the people scattered to new, unfamiliar areas. Few of them desire the change which is being forced upon them. They would rather remain where they are and rely upon the Durant Civic Association and their own individual efforts for neighborhood protection and improvement.

Once the city council decided to condemn the property, the majority of the residents resigned themselves to the eventual disruptions. A few have vowed to stand fast.

Declared one elderly man, "If they ever try to take my property, there'll be the biggest fight you've ever seen!"

Alexandria's Negro community is not the only group to be victimized by urban renewal and public housing.

URBAN RENEWAL was first considered as a way to revitalize the stagnant downtown area, stimulate business and hence improve the city's tax base. Moreover, it was to help the "little fellow." So far, the mere prospect of urban renewal has accelerated the decline in business, property values and city revenue.

Merchants are unwilling to renovate their buildings because they have been told that they will not be compensated for their improvements when the property is condemned. As a result, store buildings, even on the main street, are slipping into disrepair.

Said Jerry Levinson, the operator of a men's clothing store, "If it weren't for urban renewal hanging over my head, I would put a new front on my building." Herbert Lyles, the owner of a shoe repair shop, pointed out, "I was ready to spend $10,000 to remodel my building, but then urban renewal came along and they told me to hold up."

Stores stand unrented; in some cases, the occupants anticipated urban renewal and moved to new locations. Now, property owners find it virtually impossible to rent their vacant stores because of the uncertainties of urban renewal.

On top of this, property owners and merchants are faced with the grim prospect that urban renewal may not get underway for another two or three years. Some skeptical merchants add, " . . . if ever."

When urban renewal does come to Alexandria, many of these same businessmen face even more hardships.

Under Federal urban renewal procedures, the city will buy their property, condemn it through eminent domain if the owner refuses to sell, clear it at public expense, and then sell it (probably at a loss to the taxpayer) to private interests who are willing to develop it in harmony with the master plan.

Obviously, only the wealthiest of Alexandria's downtown merchants—and their number is steadily decreasing—have the necessary resources to buy back into the area and participate in redevelopment. Present property owners have been told that they will have first priority at the land, but there is no guarantee that this will be the case.

Reprints of this section are available: single copy, 15 cents; 15 for $1; 35 for $2; 125 for $5; 300 for $10; 1,000 for $20. Order by section number and date of issue.

HARDEST HIT by urban renewal will be the small businessmen, particularly those who rent their space. These merchants will be forced to move to new locations or go out of business. Rents in the redeveloped area of the city will simply be too high for them to pay.

Rather than move, many of these small businessmen have already decided to go out of business. Several have sought new locations but have found very few available within the city.

Some of these merchants depend upon a regular clientele built up over a period of years; to move out of Alexandria would mean a loss of customers and a long period of transition which most of these businessmen cannot afford.

Lee Soon, the operator of a laundry, had this to say about the future: "I'll be all washed up. I'll just have to go out of business and go to work for somebody else. I can't afford to pay higher rents or buy new equipment, and if I moved, I would lose most of my regular trade."

Mary Lots, the operator of the Beverly Plaza Cleaners and the sole supporter of a family, had no idea what she would do after being forced out of business.

COULD ALEXANDRIA improve its downtown area without causing these hardships? Could the city in cooperation with private capital do the job without Federal aid and its entanglements.

Alexandria's city officials say "no", but the fact remains that Charlotte, North Carolina, and Gadsden, Alabama, found a way.

In Charlotte, slum dwellings were demolished at the owners' expense through enforcement of local building codes, and several thousand residences were rehabilitated and new homes built with the cooperation of local financing institutions.

At the same time, the city did its part by repaving streets, installing new street lights and constructing parks and playgrounds. All of this was done without a cent of Federal aid and with virtually no disruption of the community.

Gadsden achieved similar results without resorting to either condemnation of property or city ordinances. City teams merely talked to the owners of slum buildings, suggesting needed improvements. When owners refused to renovate their property, the teams went directly to the tenants, offering them new homes in a low-cost residential development. Most of the tenants signed up, plans for the development were put into action, and, when the homes were finished, the former slum dwellers moved in, leaving the shacks vacant. Only then were landlords spurred to improve their property.

These two cities show how much can be done through local initiative and action without resort to Federal aid with its endless conditions and entanglements. *When urban renewal is undertaken locally, city officials or private groups do not have the benefit of eminent domain, and hence the integrity of private property is preserved and wholesale social disruptions are avoided. Granted, the outcome in these two Southern cities is hardly comparable to a shining showcase built with Federal millions, but the people of Charlotte and Gadsden, proud of their accomplishments, are far happier at the moment than a good many Alexandrians.

* The details of how a community can renew itself without Federal aid are outlined by Representative Bruce Alger (R.-Texas) in the *Congressional Record*, March 17, 1959.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED